

Message Text

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R 211924Z JAN 77

FM AMEMBASSY CARACAS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6317

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 CARACAS 0653

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, VE

SUBJECT: U.S. AND VENEZUELA: I. THE SETTING

REF: CARACAS 0654

1. NOTE: THIS IS THE FIRST OF A TWO-CABLE SERIES.
IT APPRAISES AND EXTRAPOLATES THE MAIN TRENDS IN
VENEZUELA'S CURRENT SITUATION. A FOLLOWING CABLE WILL
DEAL WITH THEIR MEANING FOR THE US. THESE CABLES ARE
SUBMITTED NOW IN THE BELIEF THAT THEY MAY BE HELPFUL
AT THIS TRANSITION POINT AS A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR
"SEEING" VENEZUELA.

2. SUMMARY: THE KEY ELEMENTS SHAPING VENEZUELA'S
INCREASINGLY ASSERTIVE AND IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL
ROLE ARE: A) ITS CONDITION AS A MAJOR OIL PRODUCER/
EXPORTER WHICH MAKES OIL ITS LIFELINE, THE UNDERPINNING
OF ITS POLITICAL DYNAMICS AND THE MAIN LINK WHICH
RELATES IT TO OPEC, NORTH/SOUTH PROBLEMS AND THE US;
B) ITS MAJOR COMMITMENT TO A MASSIVE AND AMBITIOUS
DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM THAT WILL REQUIRE MAJOR
EXTERNAL INPUTS AND WHICH, IF SUCCESSFUL, WILL
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CHANGE NOT ONLY ITS ECONOMY BUT ITS SOCIETAL
STRUCTURE; AND C) AN INCREASINGLY INDEPENDENT
AND ACTIVIST FOREIGN POLICY WHICH IS THE RESULT
PARTLY OF ITS INTERNAL DYNAMICS, PARTLY OF ITS
NEED TO LEGITIMIZE ITS OIL POLICY, AND PARTLY
OF THE BOLIVARIAN COMPLEX THAT CHARACTERIZES THE
NATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY. ALL THESE ELEMENTS IN TURN

ARE UNDERPINNED BY A FUNDAMENTAL COMMITMENT ON THE PART OF THE MAJOR DECISION-MAKING ELITES TO THE STABILIZATION AND DEEPENING OF VENEZUELA'S DEMOCRACY. IT IS THIS FACTOR WHICH GIVES A) URGENCY TO THE DEVELOPMENT EFFORT BECAUSE THAT IS VIEWED AS AN INDISPENSABLE CONDITION FOR DEMOCRACY'S SURVIVAL; B) TENACITY TO ITS ADHERENCE TO THE POLICY OF HIGH OIL PRICES AND DEFENSE OF OPEC BECAUSE THAT IS VIEWED AS ESSENTIAL TO FINANCE DEVELOPMENT; AND C) ACTIVISM TO ITS FOREIGN POLICY BECAUSE THAT IS CONSIDERED AN IMPORTANT WAY TO AFFECT THE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMY IN WAYS CONDUCIVE TO DEVELOPMENT IN VENEZUELA.

3. AN EXTRAPOLATION OF PRESENT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TRENDS SUGGESTS, HOWEVER, THAT VENEZUELA IS APPROACHING A PERIOD OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DIFFICULTY AND OF DIFFICULT POLICY CHOICES. THIS IS BECAUSE OF A) A PROBABLY LEVELLING AND EVEN DECLINE IN OIL-INCOME AFTER ABOUT 1979 WITH THE CONSEQUENT PROBABILITY THAT THERE WILL BE NO FUTURE OIL-GENERATED INCOME BONANZAS TO RESOLVE CONFLICTS AND ALLOW POSTPONEMENT OF DIFFICULT DEVELOPMENT CHOICES; B) FORCED RELIANCE ON SUBSTANTIAL BORROWING TO FUND THE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM, AND, ALTHOUGH VENEZUELA WILL BE AN EXCELLENT CREDIT RISK FOR YEARS TO COME, THIS POSES DIFFERENT FISCAL REQUIREMENTS THAN THE GOV HAS HAD TO FACE UP TO NOW; AND C) THE PROBABILITY OF POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARISING

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OUT OF "SECTORAL" CONFLICTS, ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS AND SUCH ISSUES AS THE PERFORMANCE OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR AND THE EXTENT AND FORM OF REGULATION OF DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES. ALL THESE CONSIDERATIONS ARE AFFECTED BY A VENEZUELAN MIND-SET THAT REFLECTS AN HISTORICAL AVERSION TO "DEPENDENCY" AND DEEP SUSPICION OF MULTINATIONS, BOTH LARGELY THE RESULT OF HOW THEY HAVE SEEN THEIR OIL HISTORY. THIS IN TURN HAS MEANT A COMPENSATING URGE TO "UNIVERSALIZE" FOREIGN RELATIONS AND ITS TECHNOLOGY AND ECONOMIC ARRANGEMENTS, AND AN UNWILLINGNESS TO LOOK TO PRIVATE FOREIGN INVESTMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT CAPITAL. THIS MIND-SET COMBINES WITH A CONTRASTING BASIC FRIENDSHIP FOR THE US AND ADMIRATION FOR ITS TECHNOLOGY AND SYSTEM TO CREATE AN ALMOST CLASSIC LOVE-HATE AMBIVALENCE THAT IS BOTH A CHALLENGE AND AN OPPORTUNITY FOR US STATECRAFT. END SUMMARY.

4. SOCIAL-POLITICAL-ECONOMIC SETTING. THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM HAS THE ALLEGIANCE OF MAJOR INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS IN VENEZUELAN SOCIETY. THE LEADERS OF THESE INSTITUTIONS SHARE A TRADITION OF EXILE, IMPRISONMENT AND CLANDESTINE OPPOSITION DURING THE 1948-1958 PEREZ JIMENEZ DICTATORSHIP. THEREFORE, THOUGH THEY WORRY ABOUT THE FRAGILITY OF DEMOCRACY IN VENEZUELA, THEY ARE COMMITTED TO MAKING IT WORK.

5. VENEZUELA'S OIL-BASED PROSPERITY IS THE PRINCIPAL UNDERPINNING OF ITS DEMOCRACY AND POLITICAL DYNAMICS. WITHOUT REVENUES FROM THE OIL INDUSTRY, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL STRAINS PROBABLY WOULD NOT HAVE PERMITTED THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY AND PARTY POLITICS. DESPITE SERIOUS DEFECTS IN SOCIAL PROGRAMS, THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN ABLE TO PROVIDE LARGE QUANTITIES OF PUBLIC SERVICES INCLUDING EDUCATION, HEALTH FACILITIES, HOUSING AND

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OTHER PUBLIC WORKS BENEFITING THE POOR SEGMENTS OF THE POPULATION. OIL REVENUES HAVE PERMITTED LAND REFORM AND THE NATIONALIZATION OF THE IRON AND PETROLEUM INDUSTRIES WITH RELATIVELY LITTLE POLITICAL COST AND WITHOUT MAJOR CONFRONTATIONS OR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC REPERCUSSIONS. OIL HAS ALSO FINANCED THE MAINTENANCE OF SMALL BUT WELL PAID AND RELATIVELY WELL EQUIPPED MILITARY, WHICH APPEARS CONTENT. IT HAS ALSO PERMITTED DIRECT AND INDIRECT SUBSIDIES TO THE PRIVATE SECTOR. CUSTOMS AND TAX EXEMPTIONS, LOAN PROGRAMS AND IMPORT RESTRICTIONS TO STIMULATE INDUSTRIALIZATION HAVE GREATLY ENHANCED THE WEALTH AND POWER OF THE ECONOMIC ELITE. FINALLY, SINCE 1975, THE OIL BONANZA HAS PROVIDED FUNDS TO SUPPORT VENEZUELA'S ACTIVE FOREIGN POLICY. LOANS TO INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND TO REGIONAL AND SPECIAL FUNDS AS WELL AS BILATERAL CREDITS, HAVE SOFTENED THE IMPACT OF INCREASED PETROLEUM PRICES, LIMITING CRITICISM AND ENHANCING VENEZUELA'S IMAGE AS A LATIN AMERICAN LEADER.

6. HISTORICALLY, VENEZUELA HAS DEPENDED ON THE OIL INDUSTRY TO FINANCE ITS GROWING PUBLIC SECTOR AND FUEL THE GROWTH OF THE ENTIRE ECONOMY. DESPITE HUGE INVESTMENTS OVER THE YEARS, HOWEVER, THE NATION'S INFRASTRUCTURE IS STILL WEAK. EDUCATION, VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND AGRICULTURE ARE BACKWARD AND INADEQUATE. THE SUPERFICIALLY DEVELOPED INDUSTRIAL SECTOR IS BESET BY INEFFICIENCY AND HIGH COSTS. VENEZUELA HAS A NATIONAL PLAN (PLAN V) FOR THE YEARS 1976 THROUGH 1980, BUT

VENEZUELA WILL NOT BE ABLE ITSELF TO GENERATE THE LARGE
AMOUNT OF OFFICIAL CAPITAL REQUIRED. THE MOST
SERIOUS LIMITING FACTOR TO THE ATTAINMENT OF THE
PLAN IS THE LACK OF SKILLED AND SEMI-SKILLED MAN-
POWER. ANOTHER MAJOR LIMITATION IS
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VENEZUELA'S LIMITED CAPACITY TO ABSORB THE TECHNOLOGY
REQUIRED FOR ECONOMIC EXPANSION.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 CARACAS 0653

7. WE ARE NOT OPTIMISTIC THAT VENEZUELA WILL BE ABLE
TO ACHIEVE A HIGH RATE (5 PLUS) ECONOMIC GROWTH AFTER
THE PRESENT BOOM PERIOD IS OVER. CURRENT EXPENSES AND
DEBT SERVICING HAVE GROWN AND OIL REVENUE WILL
PROBABLY NOT BE ABLE, WITHIN TWO OR THREE YEARS, TO
KEEP PACE. BY THAT TIME, THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS WILL
HAVE TURNED NEGATIVE. FOREIGN EXCHANGE RESERVES
WILL BE DECREASING AND PRESSURES ON THE BUDGET WILL
MOUNT. THIS WILL PRESENT THE GOVERNMENT WITH SOME
DIFFICULT DEVELOPMENT CHOICES WHICH COULD LEAD TO CONFLICTS
WITH INSTITUTIONAL PRESSURE GROUPS SUCH AS THE ECONOMIC
ELITES (TAX REFORM), POSSIBLE ORGANIZED LABOR
(ATTEMPTS TO LIMIT WAGES OR OTHER BENEFITS)
AND THE ARMED FORCES (BUDGET RESTRICTIONS OR
DISAGREEMENTS OVER DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY). SUCH

"SECTORAL" CONFLICTS COULD PROVE TO BE ONE OF THE MAJOR TESTS OF THE VIABILITY OF THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM IN VENEZUELA.

8. OIL AND OIL PRICES. VENEZUELA'S OIL INDUSTRY IS CHARACTERIZED BY DECLINING PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY DUE TO THE VERY LOW LEVELS OF REINVESTMENT DURING THE DECADE PRIOR TO NATIONALIZATION A YEAR AGO.
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THE GOVERNMENT'S ANNOUNCED PLANS FOR A MAJOR NEW INVESTMENT PROGRAM WILL NOT BE ADEQUATE EVEN TO MAINTAIN CURRENT PRODUCTION LEVELS OVER THE LONG TERM. MUCH GREATER INVESTMENT WILL BE REQUIRED TO GO BEYOND KNOWN FIELDS INTO OFFSHORE AREAS AND THE ORINOCO HEAVY OIL BELT, WHICH CONTAIN THE GREATEST POTENTIAL FOR NEW RESERVES BUT ALSO INVOLVE MUCH HIGHER PRODUCTION COSTS.

9. VENEZUELA WILL CERTAINLY CONTINUE TO JOIN THOSE OPEC COUNTRIES SEEKING TO MAXIMIZE OIL PRICES. IN THE ABSENCE OF MASSIVE NEW PRICE INCREASES, HOWEVER, GREATER PRODUCTION VOLUME WILL PROBABLY BE NEEDED TO SUPPORT DEVELOPMENT PLANS. WITHIN THE NEXT THREE TO FOUR YEARS, VENEZUELA IS LIKELY TO BE FACED WITH THE ALTERNATIVE OF LIMITING ITS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS OR OF SHIFTING ITS PRESENT POLICY REGARDING FOREIGN CAPITAL IN ORDER TO FINANCE PRODUCTION OF THIS MORE COSTLY OIL.

10. IN ADDITION TO HIGH OIL INCOME, VENEZUELA HAS A SECOND MAJOR PETROLEUM GOAL OF ESTABLISHING SECURE, STABLE MARKETS AND MARKETING ARRANGEMENTS. WHILE THE US IS A NATURAL MARKET, VENEZUELA HAS FOR YEARS FELT THAT IT HAS NOT BEEN ACCORDED THE SPECIAL TREATMENT AND ROLE IN THE US IMPORT PATTERN THAT ITS RECORD OF SUPPLY EFFORT AND GEOGRAPHIC FACTORS WARRANTED. ITS PERCEPTION RATHER IS THAT IT HAS BEEN SUBJECT TO THE WHIMS OF THE MARKET AND THE COMPANIES. THE TRADE ACT CONFIRMED THEIR WORST FEARS AND FRUSTRATIONS. HEAVY RELIANCE ON THE US MARKET THEREFORE IS SEEN BY VENEZUELA AS A SOURCE OF INSECURITY. IT ALSO SEES DEPENDENCE ON THE US MULTI-NATIONALS FOR THE MARKETING OF ITS PETROLEUM AS A SOURCE OF INSECURITY AND FRUSTRATION. AS A RESULT, THE GOV'S STATED POLICY IS A) GRADUALLY TO DECREASE
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THE ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMPANIES IN THE MARKETING OF VENEZUELAN OIL, AND B) TO DIVERSIFY MARKETS.

11. FOREIGN POLICY. VENEZUELA'S DOMESTIC POLITICS AFFECT ITS FOREIGN POLICY THROUGH: A) THE GOV'S COMMITMENT TO SOCIAL JUSTICE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WHICH COMBINES WITH ITS CONVICTION THAT ITS OIL RESERVES ARE A FINITE RESOURCE WITH A LIMITED PRODUCTION LIFE TIME TO MAKE DEFENSE OF OPEC AND HIGH PRICES A CARDINAL TENET OF ITS FOREIGN POLICY; B) ITS GENERALIZED COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRACY WHICH MAKES VENEZUELA A NATURAL DEFENDER OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND ANTI-TERRORISM AS WELL AS A VOCAL OPPONENT OF MILITARY DICTATORSHIPS; AND C) THE PARTICULAR PERSONALITY OF CARLOS ANDRES PEREZ. PEREZ CAME TO POWER WITH A PROFOUND SENSE OF VENEZUELA'S DESTINY AND HIS PARTY'S (AD) HERITAGE. HISTORICALLY, THE AD PARTY DID NOT HAVE A FOREIGN POLICY (1958-1963) BEYOND OPPOSING DICTATORSHIPS OF THE LEFT AND RIGHT, IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT AND A COMPETITIVE JUXTAPOSING OF VENEZUELA'S DEMOCRATIC REFORMIST MODEL TO THAT OF CUBA. DURING THE COPEI PARTY'S PERIOD IN POWER (1969-1973) VENEZUELA ADVOCATED IDEOLOGICAL PLURALISM AND ADOPTED A THIRD WORLD POSTURE ESTABLISHING RELATIONS WITH A NUMBER OF COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. PEREZ BROKE WITH AD TRADITION AND CONTINUED THE MAIN THREADS OF COPEI FOREIGN POLICY, ALTHOUGH CLEARLY MARKED BY HIS PERSONALITY--OUTSPOKEN, EGOCENTRIC, ERRATIC AND VERY ACTIVE.

12. VENEZUELA THUS HAS BECOME AN INCREASINGLY ASSERTIVE ACTOR ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE. IT HAS CULTIVATED A LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THE BARGAINING BETWEEN DEVELOPED AND UNDERDEVELOPED, AND ADOPTED AN ALMOST BOLIVARIAN COMMITMENT TO LATIN AMERICAN UNITY AND SOLIDARITY. SINCE 1974, VENEZUELAN

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FOREIGN POLICY HAS: JUSTIFIED PRODUCER CARTELS; SOUGHT TO DEFLECT CRITICISM BY LDCS OF OIL PRICE INCREASES BY PROMOTING ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE THROUGH THE OPEC SPECIAL FUND; PROMOTED VENEZUELA AS A THIRD WORLD SPOKESMAN IN UNCTAD, G-77 AND, MOST PARTICULARLY, IN CIEC. IN KEEPING WITH PEREZ' BOLIVARIAN COMMITMENT TO LA SOLIDARITY, VENEZUELA HAS EFFECTIVELY PUSHED FOR LATIN AMERICAN INTEGRATION (SUPPORT FOR ANDEAN PACT AND SELA), AND FOR REINTEGRATING CUBA INTO LATIN AMERICA. PEREZ

HAS LECTURED SOUTH AMERICAN DICTATORSHIPS ON THE NEED FOR RETURN TO CIVILIAN RULE AND PROJECTED VENEZUELA INTO THE CARIBBEAN BY: ESTABLISHING DIPLOMATIC AND TRADE RELATIONS WITH CUBA; OFFERING GOOD OFFICES ON THE BELIZE ISSUE; AND OFFERING ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE (PRIMARILY THROUGH SPECIAL RELIEF ON OIL PURCHASES) TO A NUMBER OF CENTRAL AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES.

13. BECAUSE THEY TEND TO BE AD HOC, ILL-PLANNED, LACKING IN FOLLOW-THROUGH AND BECAUSE VENEZUELA WILL PROBABLY NOT BE ABLE TO CONTINUE DISPENSING ECONOMIC LARGESSE ABROAD, MANY OF PRESIDENT PEREZ' FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES MAY NOT PROSPER BEYOND PROCLAMATION.

14. INVESTMENT, TECHNOLOGY AND TRADE. SUBSTANTIAL NEW INVESTMENT OF US EQUITY CAPITAL IN VENEZUELA DURING THE NEXT FEW YEARS IS UNLIKELY. VENEZUELA'S SUSPICION OF MULTINATIONALS AND ITS GENERAL NATIONALISM MAKE IT UNWILLING TO LOOK TO EQUITY INVESTMENT AS A SOURCE OF CAPITAL FUNDS. ITS EXCELLENT CREDIT WORTHINESS OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL YEARS GIVES IT A MORE POLITICALLY PALATABLE ALTERNATIVE--GOVERNMENT BORROWING. ON THE OTHER HAND, VENEZUELA DOES DESIRE AND NEED TECHNOLOGY AND MANAGERIAL EXPERTISE. THE US ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP WITH VENEZUELA WILL THEREFORE QUITE PROBABLY BE CHARACTERIZED
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INCREASINGLY BY FORMS OF PRIVATE FOREIGN PARTICIPATION OTHER THAN DIRECT INVESTMENT--ROYALTY CONTRACTS, SUPPLY ARRANGEMENTS AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE CONTRACTS. DIRECT INVESTMENT MAY BE SIMPLY AN ADJUNCT TO SUCH NEW FORMS OF TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER. A DIFFICULT CHOICE MAY ARISE IF THERE ARE ANY "PACKAGES" THAT THE PROVIDER REFUSES TO SPLIT UP AS BETWEEN EQUITY INVESTMENT AND TECHNOLOGY, SO THAT TO ACQUIRE THE LATTER VENEZUELA WOULD BE FORCED TO ACCEPT THE FORMER. EXPLOITATION OF THE TAR BELT MAY INVOLVE JUST THAT KIND OF CHOICE.

15. VENEZUELA WILL CONTINUE TO BE AN EXCELLENT MARKET FOR FOREIGN EXPORTERS, AND FOR THE US IN PARTICULAR, ALTHOUGH THE RATE OF GROWTH OF THE MARKET MAY SLACK OFF AS THE ECONOMY BEGINS TO EXPERIENCE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS LIMITATIONS. AS ITS INDUSTRY DIVERSIFIES, VENEZUELA WILL ALSO BE INCREASINGLY INTERESTED IN FOREIGN MARKETS FOR ITS OWN EXPORTS, AND THEREFORE TRADE CONSIDERATIONS, PREFERENCES, NTB'S, PRICE, COMMODITY TRADE, ARE ALL LIKELY TO BECOME INCREASINGLY NEURALGIC TOPICS FOR THE GOV.

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